The National-Liberation Movement

and the World Revolutionary Process

THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

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THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS TODAY AND THE LAWS GOVERNING ITS DEVELOPMENT

Man is passing through a crucial stage in his development, one marked by the transition to the most advanced socio-economic formation – communist society. The building of socialism, the first phase of communist society, has been completed in the Soviet Union and is proceeding apace in more than ten other countries.

The people of many countries are being increasingly attracted to socialism as a system which delivers working people from poverty, oppression, and exploitation, and creates the conditions necessary for the genuine emancipation of the working man, and for the unimpeded all-round development of the human personality. Admittedly, the extent to which working people realize the need to struggle for socialism, and the intensity of that struggle, vary from country to country. The level of social, economic, political and cultural development of the peoples of different countries differs widely. But wherever there is exploitation and oppression, forces are emerging which

make socialism their objective, and these forces are gaining in strength everywhere.

Turbulent revolutionary processes are sweeping the world and transforming it. Today more instistently than ever before the need is felt for replacing capitalist relations of production with socialist ones. The overthrowing of the last parasitical system, the world-wide system of imperial domination and exploitation, however, and the formation and development of the new social structure which follows, is a complex process that takes time. The material prerequisites for transition to socialism have developed in the industrialized countries of the West earlier than elsewhere. However, in most Western countries monopoly capital still holds sway and it is the main, though not the only, obstacle to social progress throughout the world.

1. THE CHIEF FORCES OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The modern world is the scene of bitter and intense struggle between the forces of revolution, progress, democracy and socialism, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction, on the other. The revolutionary forces, the forces of democracy and progress, are on the offensive and have won many outstanding victories in the course of the past half century. In October, 1917, the proletariat and all the working people of Russia won a historic victory of world-wide significance. The Great October Socialist Revolution was the first victorious socialist revolution in human history. It radically changed the political and

socio-economic face of a great world power and transformed economically backward Russia into a leading world power – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In the words of Lenin, the Great October Socialist Revolution "has charted the road to socialism for the whole world and has shown the bourgeoisie that their triumph is coming to an end."

In the period that followed the Second World War, as a result of the successful socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries, a world socialist community came into being. Later, in 1959, socialist revolution reached the Western hemisphere when it won a victory in Cuba. Under pressure from the national-liberation movements, the colonial system of imperialism collapsed and most colonies gained their independence. Today they are working to strengthen the political independence of their countries, to achieve economic independence, and social progress. The struggle of the working class and all democratic forces in advanced capitalist countries has been intensified.

At the present time three great forces are merging into a single revolutionary stream opposing imperialism. These are: the world socialist system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement. The world revolutionary movement, despite the difficulties and setbacks experienced by some of its contingents, is pressing home its assault on imperialism.

Monopoly capitalism, however, is making desperate attempts to weaken and undermine the forces of revolution.

The aggressive strategy of imperialism is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries.

Imperialism is building up military blocs which were set up in order to launch a war of aggression against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, it is stepping up its ideological warfare against them and trying to slow down their economic advance. Nor has it given up direct military intervention as a method of struggle against socialism. At the same time imperialist forces are doing their utmost to undermine the unity of the world socialist community.

In its struggle against the working class movement, imperialism is resorting to open violence, police brutality and anti-labour legislation. At the same time it is constantly looking for new forms of struggle to weaken the working class movement from within, and, with this in view, it is stimulating and supporting opportunist ideology and policies, and employing demagogy and methods of bourgeois reformism.

In its struggle against the national-liberation movement, imperialism is tenaciously holding on to the remnants of colonialism, on the one hand, and on the other, is trying, by using neo-colonialist methods, to slow down the economic and social progress of countries that have won national sovereignty. Imperialism backs the reactionary circles, obstructs the elimination of the social and economic backwardness of the newly independent countries, and seeks in every way to make their progress towards socialism – or their development along the non-capitalist road which offers a prospect of socialism at the end of it – as difficult as possible.

It is becoming increasingly clear that, despite its strenuous attempts, imperialism is impotent to recapture the historical initiative and to turn the

tide in world development. The highways of the future development of mankind are being determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, and by the forces fighting for national liberation.

Let us examine the respective contributions the three great revolutionary forces of today are making to the anti-imperialist struggle.

The world socialist system constitutes *the main and decisive force* in the anti-imperialist struggle today. Its pre-eminence is due to the new society that has been created in the socialist countries. This is a society without exploitation and oppression, a society backed by an advanced economy, where ordinary working people are the masters of their own destiny. It is a society in which there is no private ownership of the means of production and all vital questions are solved in the interests of the working people and where a new man of high moral principles is being moulded. The peoples of the socialist countries are providing a model of a more advanced organization of society superior to capitalist society.

The contribution made by the world socialist system to the common anti-imperialist struggle is determined principally by its growing economic might.

Socialism makes it possible in a short space of time to create a large-scale industry with stable growth rates, equipped with up-to-date machinery, and equal to solving the most complex problems in science and technology. Socialism has also radically transformed agriculture by extensive mechanization. In short, socialism has ensured the rapid development of the whole of the

economy, which, in rates of growth, is far ahead of the economies of capitalist countries.

In 1937, the share of socialism in the world industrial output was 10 per cent, but by the end of the sixties it exceeded 38 per cent. Whereas in capitalist countries industrial production increased by 2.6 times between 1950 and 1968, in the socialist countries, members of the CMEA, it increased by 5.9 times. Annual rates of industrial growth between 1951 and 1967 in the socialist countries averaged 11 per cent compared to only 5.2 per cent in the capitalist countries. In the Soviet Union the annual increment of industrial production in peace-time amounted to 14 per cent; in the 50 and more years of the existence of the Soviet Union it has averaged 9.9 per cent. In the United States, Great Britain, France and West Germany the corresponding figure ranges from a mere 2 to 4 per cent.

Industrial production in other socialist countries has been showing a remarkably rapid rate of growth. For example, in Poland between 1950 and 1968 it increased by 6.4 times, in Bulgaria by 9.8 times and in Rumania by 9.1 times.

Agriculture in the socialist countries is also developing at a faster rate than under capitalism.

Socialism ensures a higher standard of living and a higher cultural level for the working people. Socialism has achieved full employment, and has given working people confidence in the future. It has guaranteed them the right to work, rest, free education, medical service and pensions. Socialism has raised the cultural life of society to a far higher level. It has created the necessary conditions for the moulding of the new man–a man with a high level of political consciousness,

educated in the spirit of collectivism and comradeship, in the spirit of love of his country and respect for the working people of the world.

The following basic figures will give some idea of developments in the socialist world: the real incomes of Soviet working people increased by 43 per cent between 1960 and 1968. The number of engineers working in the Soviet economy is twice as large as that in the USA. There are over 820,000 scientific workers in the Soviet Union, which means that every fourth research worker in the world today is a Soviet research worker. The number of students attending colleges and specialized secondary schools in Poland is now 12 times greater than it was before the war, and in Bulgaria it is 7 times greater. The entire treasures of world culture have been placed within the reach of the masses of people in the socialist countries.

A truly popular socialist system of democracy has been established in the socialist countries, a democracy that gives the working people an opportunity to take part in the running of state, production and social affairs. Socialist society rests on the support, participation and initiative of the people as a whole, led by the working class.

In the Soviet Union, the largest and most powerful of the socialist countries, all power is vested in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Some 50,000 elected Soviets all over the country take the most important decisions on vital questions of both local and state importance. Over two million deputies have been elected to the Soviets from among workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia. In their day-to-day activities the

Soviets rely on a large body of activists whose numbers run into 23 million.

Mass public organizations play a big part in the guidance of communist construction. The trade unions, with a total membership of 86 million, are prominent among such organizations. Not a single major decision is taken by state bodies without consulting the trade unions first. Other organizations such as the Komsomol, co-operative societies and people's control commissions also play an important part.

By building the new society, the peoples of the socialist countries are dealing a shattering blow to world imperialism, undermining its position in the sphere of material production, and also in the social, scientific, ideological and cultural fields.

The achievements of the socialist countries in different areas of human endeavour provide an example for others to follow. These achievements are having a revolutionizing effect on the peoples of the capitalist countries and the newly independent countries, propelling them into struggle against capital and exploitation and giving them inspiration in their struggle to transform society in accordance with the principles of social justice.

The existence and progress of the world socialist system has radically changed the alignment of forces in the world. Today the imperialists are no longer able to decide the future of nations, to suppress revolutionary and liberation movements and solve major issues of world politics as they see fit. Imperialist schemes and actions come up against the very real economic, political and military power of the socialist community of nations.

This power is used to counter the imperialist aggressors, and to oppose the export of counter-revolution and attempts to suppress liberation struggles. It is used to defend the freedom and independence of nations, to extend material help to those who are fighting for their liberation from colonial bondage, and to support the efforts of newly independent countries to achieve economic self-sufficiency and social progress and their efforts to withstand the manoeuvrings of neo-colonialism.

An example of this is the help which many socialist countries are extending to the people of Vietnam in their valiant struggle against the American aggressors. Substantial help also goes from socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, to the peoples of the Portuguese African colonies who are fighting against colonial enslavement, and to the Arab liberation movement which is fighting against the Israeli aggressors and their US and other backers. The economic and technical help the socialist countries are giving developing countries is growing constantly.

And finally, it is the military and economic might of the socialist system that is the effective deterrent to imperialism which might otherwise unleash a new world war.

The socialist system encounters difficulties in its development. An example of the kind of difficulties experienced is the great harm to world socialism done by the deliberate policy of anti-Sovietism conducted by the Chinese leaders, a policy aimed at splitting the world socialist system and fanning enmity among the socialist countries. All true revolutionaries strongly denounce this harmful course of the present leadership of the

Chinese People's Republic and do everything in their power to overcome the existing difficulties and to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the world socialist system.

Another great force of the contemporary world revolutionary process is the working class of the advanced capitalist countries. The working class of the major capitalist countries is the motive and mobilizing force of the revolutionary struggle, of the democratic and anti-imperialist movements.

For some years now the apologists for capitalism have been trying to spread the myth that the development of modern capitalism leads to a dying down of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, making the working class less revolutionary in the process. Events, however, are showing just how little such prophecies are worth.

In reality the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries has in recent years assumed an unprecedented scope and intensity. The mighty tide of strikes and political actions, and the increasing scope and intensity of trade union activity are some of the signs of the social storm that is gathering over world imperialism. The important thing in this connection is that the struggle of the working class is not proceeding under purely economic slogans in defence of narrow material interests, but is increasingly becoming political in character. It is becoming a struggle against the all-powerful monopolies, for the establishment of social rights and democratic freedoms. The demands advanced by the working class and other broad sections of working people in the capitalist countries are increasingly being directed against the system of monopoly capital

domination as a whole, and against its political power.

Intensification of the working class struggle in the capitalist countries is only to be expected. Neither the scientific and technological revolution nor the stepped-up development of state-monopoly capitalism in the post-war period can solve the basic contradiction inherent in capitalism – the contradiction between the social nature of production and the appropriation of the results of production by the private owner.

Furthermore, this basic contradiction is becoming deeper and deeper leading as it does to the exacerbation of all the traditional contradictions of capitalism and the appearance of new ones. As a result the contradiction between labour and capital, between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries is developing into a profound antagonism between the financial oligarchy and the vast majority of the population.

The development of state-monopoly capitalism and the scientific and technological revolution result in a growth of the proportion of hired labour in relation to the gainfully employed population. In the United States hired labour constitutes over 90 per cent of the gainfully employed population, in Britain – 90 per cent, in the FRG – 81 per cent, in France – 76 per cent and in Japan – 61 per cent. The vast majority of these people are working class and office employees close to the working class by virtue of their social status.

For these people the development of capitalism brings with it an additional misfortune in the shape of growing unemployment (automation robs millions of people of their jobs), intensifica-

tion of labour with its concomitants of new occupational diseases and disability as a result of industrial accidents, a climbing cost of living, and increased exploitation outside the sphere of production (higher taxes, rent and fares).

The scientific and technological revolution has swelled the ranks of the intelligentsia, particularly technical intelligentsia, who increasingly join the army of hired labour. Monopoly capital exploits intellectual workers, and inhibits the creativity of this section of the population which is largely upper middle class in social origin. Although there are substantial differences in status among the various groups inside the intelligentsia, increasing numbers of its members are coming into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policies of their governments.

The domination of financial capital causes more and more farmers to go bankrupt. In the United States, for example, 2,600,000 farmers, 46 per cent of the total, were ruined over the last 18 years. In Federal Germany over the same period 600,000 farmers went bankrupt. This figure represents 26 per cent of the total. In Italy between 1961 and 1967 an average of 67,000 farmers went bankrupt annually. As a rule bankrupt farmers become farm hands or join the army of the unemployed. The farmers that survive are exploited by monopoly capital in many different ways. This, needless to say, leads to a sharp aggravation of social contradictions in the country.

In a similar fashion the monopolies put pressure on the small traders, craftsmen and owners of small businesses in the towns.

The encroachment of monopoly capital on the vital rights and interests of the working people

has been meeting with stiff resistance particularly of late.

This resistance, predictably enough, has been led by the working class headed by the communist parties. Between 1960 and 1968 three hundred million workers took part in strikes and other industrial actions in the advanced capitalist countries, twice as many as in the preceding 14 years. The class struggle waged by the proletariat has been particularly intense in Italy, France, and Spain. In Italy, for instance, a series of mass general strikes swept the country in 1968 in which up to 18 million people took part. In November, 1969, 20 million people (almost the whole of the working population of Italy) went on strike.

In the countries where strike action has not been so frequent – the USA, Australia, Canada and Federal Germany – the labour movement has been showing increased activity. In the United States, for instance, 1,100,000 workers went on strike in the first six months of 1969. American workers advanced new aspects of the class struggle – the problems of Negro workers, and efforts by a part of the working class to make the trade union movement a weapon of class struggle which would be more in tune with the end objectives of the proletariat.

In September, 1969, some 100,000 West German miners and steel workers went on strike.

Other sections of the working people are joining the working class in an active struggle against monopoly capital. Among them are farmers and white collar workers. The sixties were marked by important actions by the farmers of many capitalist countries. Significantly, the farm-

ers increasingly favour unity of action with the working class.

The young people of the capitalist countries, particularly students, are becoming an important force in the anti-monopoly struggle. Over the past 10 years the number of students in the United States has gone up from 2.5 million to 7 million; in West Germany from 110,000 to 500,000; in Britain from 246,000 to 418,000; and in France from 200,000 to 680,000. The social composition of the student body has changed substantially: there are far more students with petty-bourgeois, white collar worker, farmer and worker backgrounds. This cannot fail to be reflected in the students' political outlook. The experience of the past three years shows that the students have developed into a major force in the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle. The mass student unrest that swept almost every capitalist country in 1967-69 involved thousands of college and university students who were protesting, not only against the outdated system of education but also against the class character of higher education, against the militarization of bourgeois society, against imperialist wars and the attempts by the bourgeoisie to curtail the working people rights. And although very often the youth struggle was spontaneous in character, and was politically immature, showing a lack of political experience and durable links with the working class and its communist party – the vanguard of the revolutionary movement – the young people made a considerable contribution to the struggle against the monopolies.

We are led to the conclusion that the class struggle of the working people in the capitalist

countries has acquired an unprecedented scope. It has become a truly mass struggle, both in terms of the numbers involved and their composition.

Furthermore, the increased intensity of class battles in the capitalist countries has been matched by their greater effectiveness. The class battles waged by the working people of France in May-June, 1968, in which over nine million took part, apart from forcing the monopolies to meet the workers' pay claims and their demands to recognize trade union rights at places of employment, also prepared the ground for the subsequent defeat of General de Gaulle's regime of personal power. The events of May-June, 1968, in France came as the first major open confrontation between the masses and the system of state monopoly capitalism in that country.

There is no doubt that in many industrialized capitalist countries the class struggle has entered a new stage. The revolutionary movements in a number of capitalist countries, in advancing demands for far-reaching democratic reforms affecting all areas of social life including production, education and state structure and those directed against the aggressive plans of imperialism in world affairs, inevitably call into question the very existence of the capitalist system. The leader in this struggle is the working class, the only force capable of bringing about the downfall of capitalism and the only force able to organize a coalition of all the anti-imperialist forces and lead them to victory.

The third great force of the contemporary world revolutionary process is made up of the anti-imperialist national-liberation movements of

the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The gaining of independence by seventy former colonies as a result of national-liberation revolutions came as a shattering blow to the system of world imperialism. This collapse of the system of colonial slave was second in importance historically only to the appearance of the world system of socialism.

Most of the peoples of Asia and Africa have freed themselves from colonial bondage and set up independent states. But over 35 million people are still oppressed by colonial rule. These people in the remaining colonies are waging a valiant struggle, including armed struggle, for their liberation. Their efforts are an important contribution to the common struggle against imperialism.

In those countries of Asia and Africa where the people have won state independence, the national-liberation movement has entered a new stage. Besides defending and consolidating their political independence and sovereignty, the peoples of these countries are tackling central problems of social development such as the elimination of economic backwardness, raising living standards and creating an independent national economy based on a developed domestic industry. The solution of these problems is dependent upon carrying out fundamental social and economic reforms, including democratic land reforms in the interests of those who work the land and with their active participation, the elimination of the survivals of feudalism and pre-feudal relations, getting rid of the foreign monopolies, a radical democratization of social and political life and of the state apparatus, and developing national cul-

ture with emphasis of its progressive traditions. In these countries the main effort is being increasingly directed at achieving social liberation.

A further polarization of class forces is taking place as the struggle around ways of further social development increases. The conflict is becoming sharper. On one side are the working class, peasantry, and other democratic forces including patriotically minded elements of the petty bourgeoisie who are interested in the progressive democratic development of their countries, and on the other are the forces of internal reaction and elements of the national bourgeoisie who prefer to enter into collusion with the imperialists.

The imperialists are pushing the young independent countries onto the capitalist path of development so that they may continue to exploit them, using more flexible and subtle means. This hinders the efforts of the newly independent countries to solve the basic problems with which they are faced. These problems can be solved effectively only provided these countries embark on the non-capitalist path of development which ultimately leads to socialism. A number of Asian and African countries have chosen this path and proclaimed socialism as their final goal. In these countries radical changes are being carried out in all areas of social life. They have nationalized large-scale industry, and in some cases medium-sized industry too. They are carrying out land reform, encouraging co-operative methods of farming, curbing the activities of the local bourgeoisie, and ending the domination of foreign capital. Admittedly this is only the beginning of a long and complex road of development for na-

tions whose historical progress was deliberately held back by the colonialists. These countries face the task of building up productive forces sufficiently powerful to initiate socialist construction, of establishing productive relations of a totally new kind, of changing the outlook of their people, and developing new managerial personnel who derive their authority from the people and are responsible to them. All this takes time and demands persistent effort from the working class, peasantry, intellectuals and all progressive elements led by a vanguard equipped with the theory of scientific socialism. The successful transition to socialism in economically backward countries can be accomplished only where the people as a whole, and particularly the growing working class, take part in running society, and where there is a close alliance between this working class and the peasantry. There must also be a development of a broad-based democracy and a policy of close links with world socialism and the international working class movement.

Today only a few countries of Asia and Africa are following the non-capitalist path of development. They constitute the vanguard of the "third world" in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism for progress and freedom. There is no doubt that the peoples of an increasing number of countries will be taking the road of non-capitalist development, the road leading to socialism. By so doing their opposition to world imperialism will become more effective. The 24th Congress of the CPSU took due note of this fact. Speaking at the Congress, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, said that in countries following the non-capital-

ist road of development "deep-going social changes, which are in the interests of the masses of people, and which lead to a strengthening of national independence, are being implemented... and the number of these changes has been growing as time goes on."

Most Latin American countries became formally independent as far back as the end of the last century. However, the peoples of these countries found themselves under the economic domination of US imperialism which oppresses and exploits the Latin American continent regarding it as its strategic rear. The bulk of the Latin American countries have undergone a long period of capitalist development which produced a growing urban and rural proletariat which is gaining in strength in struggle. At the same time, in many of these countries remnants of feudalism still persist and there are large numbers of landless peasants.

Militant democratic and anti-imperialist revolutionary processes are developing in this part of the world, processes that in due course will open the way to socialism.

The struggle in Latin America for genuine national sovereignty, for economic independence, and for liberation from the domination of US imperialism, is bound up with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation – against the foreign and local monopolies and the big landowners.

The active struggle of the working class in Latin America is a guarantee of further successes in the development of the anti-imperialist movement in that part of the world. The proletariat of Latin American countries, and the communist and

workers' parties are playing an increasingly important part in advancing the revolutionary movement there. As the struggle develops, the working class is becoming more militant, the peasantry is becoming more politically conscious, and foundations are being laid of the alliance between the workers and peasants. Students, progressive representatives of the intelligentsia and many of the middle sections of the urban population are joining in the struggle. The front of the anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary struggle is widening and gaining in strength.

The Cuban revolution, in breaking the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America, led to the appearance of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. It marked the beginning of a new stage in the revolutionary movement and gave a fresh impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America.

The great forces of the modern world – the world socialist system, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement and the democratic movements – are merging into a single stream that is eroding the system of world imperialism.

2. SOME OF THE GENERAL LAWS GOVERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Despite the great diversity of conditions prevailing in different parts of the world, and despite the uneven development of the world revolutionary process, a few basic patterns can be observed.

One of them is the fact that over the past half century the revolutionary process has been developing under the guidance of socialist forces, first under the guidance of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country, and later under that of the world socialist system.

The victorious socialist revolution in Russia ushered in a new era of world history, the era of the collapse of capitalism. This marked the turning-point in mankind's development towards socialism. The ideas of the October Revolution have spread throughout the world, rousing nations to a struggle against their oppressors–a struggle for freedom and independence. The gains of the October Revolution have provided a firm foundation for the revolutionary movement and served to accelerate world development. Right after the October Revolution, and under its direct influence, the working people in capitalist countries launched an attack on the pillars of the old system. The proletarian revolutions in Finland, Hungary, Bavaria, and Slovakia, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany (carried out principally by the proletariat and peasantry using proletarian methods), the unprecedented rise of the mass revolutionary movement in Italy, France, Great Britain and many other countries–all these were characteristic of the world situation between 1917 and 1923.

The October Revolution provided a powerful impetus to the national-liberation movements in the colonies and dependent countries. As a result of their unflagging anti-imperialist struggle, the peoples of some Eastern countries succeeded in liberating themselves from the domination of foreign colonialists (Turkey, Iran and Afghanis-

tan). The Mongolian People's Republic came into being. In 1919, an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution broke out in China. Revolutionary movements began in India and countries of Southeast Asia. Liberation wars flared up in the countries of Latin America and Africa. A crisis of the colonial system of imperialism set in which subsequently acquired wider scope and depth as was evidenced by the popular uprisings in Syria, Morocco, Indonesia and Indo-China, by the spread of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in China, and by the national-liberation struggle in Latin America.

The rout of the forces of reaction and fascism in the Second World War – a defeat to which the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution – provided a new powerful impetus to the development of revolutionary struggles around the world. In a number of European and Asian countries, radical revolutionary changes were brought about which culminated in the victory of socialist revolutions. The workers' and democratic movement in capitalist countries made important gains in all spheres–political, economic and social. The wholesale disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism set in.

The emergence and successful development of the world socialist community stimulated an accelerated development of national-liberation revolutions in the late fifties and sixties. This process culminated in an all but complete collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. The successful anti-capitalist struggle at all levels, and the struggle against all the reactionary forces, cleared the decks for a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism. Speaking at a meeting to mark the cen-

tenary of the birth of Lenin, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, said: "The historical role played today by the world socialist system, the vanguard of mankind's social development, is great and lofty. It has entered our complex and turbulent epoch as the embodiment of the age-old dream of the working people and exploited masses of all countries, as a sentence passed on the forces of reaction, oppression and aggression, as the mighty bulwark of all fighters for freedom, independence and lasting peace, as a symbol of hope and an earnest of the future happiness of all peoples."

The prominent place of the socialist system in the world revolutionary process makes it essential for all revolutionaries to give it every support, and to help defend its gains and its unity. Abdel Khalek Mahgoub, a prominent figure in the Arab liberation movement, spoke for many revolutionaries throughout the world when he said that the people of his country were quite rightly interested in strengthening the world socialist system. They would reject any changes of the system's geographical map considering that this map could only expand, that any fragmentation and diminishing of it was inadmissible.

Another important feature of the revolutionary process is that it unfolds as a single closely integrated process embracing many different revolutionary forces. As early as the turn of the century, Lenin foresaw that "the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie – no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international

imperialism." Events since that time have shown the correctness of Lenin's prediction. It is noteworthy that the world revolutionary movement has won its greatest victories when, for objective reasons, the unity of the revolutionary forces has been supplemented and reinforced by the concerted actions of diverse revolutionary forces.

The communists were the first revolutionaries in world history to realize the need to develop and strengthen this unity. Taking into account that the "international proletariat is the only ally of all the hundreds of millions of the working and exploited peoples of the East," that the proletariat of advanced countries "will not be victorious without the aid of the working people of all the oppressed colonial nations, first and foremost, of Eastern nations," that "this revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can now develop effectively, can reach a successful issue, only in direct association with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism," Lenin urged the Communist International to follow a consistent line aimed at uniting all revolutionary forces. He stressed that "all communist parties should render direct aid to the revolutionary movements among the dependent and underprivileged nations. . . and in the colonies, "a policy must be pursued that will achieve the closest alliance, with Soviet Russia, of all the national and colonial liberation movements." This Leninist policy of uniting the revolutionary forces was the political line of the Communist International throughout its existence.

There is no doubt that the successful anti-fascist struggle of the nations in the Second World

War and the successes scored by the revolutionary and democratic forces in different parts of the world immediately after the rout of nazism were the product of concerted action by the many different democratic and liberation movements of the world. These successes largely stemmed from the long and persistent struggle of the Comintern aimed at organizing the unity of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism.

Of prime importance for the future development of the anti-imperialist struggle at the present stage is the strengthening of the alliance of the socialist system and the workers' and national-liberation movements. The long-felt need and topicality of this alliance are explained by a variety of important factors.

Imperialism and state monopoly capitalism, these common enemies of all revolutionary forces, attach great importance to uniting the forces of reaction and splitting the revolutionary forces in an attempt to turn the tide in their struggle against the forces of progress. In its efforts to launch a counter-offensive, world imperialism, led by American imperialism, is doing its utmost to strengthen military and political blocs such as NATO, is compounding state monopoly associations of the EEC type, is seeking to follow a common policy in the chief sectors of the class struggle and is doing everything possible to form a united front of all reactionary forces throughout the world. At the same time imperialism is trying to sow the seeds of nationalism among the revolutionary forces. It is trying to cause discord among the socialist countries, and to work up suspicion towards the socialist countries among the working people of capitalist countries, it is

trying to hinder a strengthening of the unity of peoples fighting for national and social emancipation, it is provoking distrust towards the communists among revolutionary, democratic and patriotically-minded leaders and their organizations.

Only a solid, united front of all anti-imperialist forces can effectively counter imperialist schemes. The unity of all the anti-imperialist forces is particularly necessary to inflict new defeats upon world imperialism and to wrest further important positions from its control. This unity is essential to the further success for all the revolutionary forces, and it is of a special importance for peoples still fighting for national liberation. Those peoples can solve the social and economic problems facing them only on the basis of a correct political orientation in the elaboration of which the experience of the socialist countries and the scientific and theoretical views of the world communist movement are essential. And besides, the importance of practical co-operation between the young independent countries and the world system of socialism can hardly be overestimated.

The disinterested economic and technical aid, and the political and military support that the socialist countries extend to the newly independent states, and mutually advantageous commerce assist the progressive forces in newly independent countries to carry out successfully the social, economic and political tasks confronting them, and also assist them in their struggle against neocolonialism.

Leonid Brezhnev, at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, said that "the struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practical terms

begun to grow into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist."

An important objective factor making for unity on a firm basis is the drawing closer together and merging of the main revolutionary streams according to their social objectives and motive forces. By giving priority to social tasks which are both anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist in character, tasks of transforming society in a way that will bring it closer to socialism, the national-liberation struggle has come closer to world socialism and the workers' movement. This process of drawing together is helped by the fact that the revolutionary initiative in the countries fighting for their national liberation is increasingly passing into the hands of the workers, the peasants and the working intelligentsia and representatives of other sections of society which take the side of the working people and express their interests. Thus, the main revolutionary streams are becoming increasingly united, not only for the common, destructive goal – the struggle against imperialism – but also for the common constructive goal of building a new society, even though different streams and revolutionary forces find themselves at different stages in their advance towards this goal. This means that there has been a further deepening of the social content of the world revolutionary process accompanied by a strengthening of the basis on which its motive forces are coming together.

This, in turn, makes essential a deliberate policy aimed at uniting the various revolutionary forces, and at following a policy of joint effort against the common enemy for the achievement of common goals. There is in the world today a

powerful international political force which is operating throughout the whole world and which aims to unite the various revolutionary forces on a class internationalist basis. This force is the world communist movement, which, through the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in June, 1969, launched the following appeal: "Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!" The communists are working consistently and unswervingly to translate this appeal into reality.

But the communists do not claim to be the only political force organizing the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and progress. The communists highly value and support the efforts of other political forces (revolutionary-democratic and socialist ones), efforts aimed at the achievement of common goals and objectives.

The communists respect independence and equality of the other political forces each of which has its own programme, and its following. At the same time the communists consider it important to work for the unity of all revolutionary political organizations and parties with a view to consolidating the various detachments of the world revolutionary process. While they advocate unity, and co-ordination of the efforts of all democratic, anti-imperialist forces, the communists, who are an independent force, do not seek to deprive non-communist revolutionary political par-

ties and organizations of their political and organizational independence.

Events are increasingly compelling these political forces to pool their efforts with those of the communist and workers' movement, and with the efforts of the world socialist system. In other words these political forces face the necessity of taking up an internationalist position. Consistent internationalism presupposes a conscious and effective solidarity with the world workers' movement and its vanguard– the communist movement. It also means solidarity with the world system of socialism, the inadmissibility of making any concessions to nationalism, and the consistent solution of domestic and international issues from class positions – from positions of defending the interests of the working people and of struggling against imperialism. This is the only policy that can make an effective contribution to their struggle, that can lend this struggle true perspective, and, in the final count, that will lead these political forces to victory, which in consequence will add to the success of the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

The harmful nationalistic policy which Mao Tse-tung and his followers are trying to impose upon the national-liberation movement stands out in sharp contrast to this policy of internationalism and all it implies. The policy of the Maoists of isolating the national-liberation movement and counterposing it to world socialism and the international communist movement, their attempts to replace class solidarity of the workers of the world with unity on the basis of race, their attempts to prevent the further development and strengthening of the alliance of all revolutionary

forces on an anti-imperialist internationalist basis – all this does incalculable harm to the liberation movement. True revolutionaries reject the policy of Mao and his followers.

There are many examples which show that the understanding of the power of proletarian internationalism is increasingly gaining ground among revolutionary and democratic organizations and their leaders, who use it as a source of strength and success. This was the subject of a speech at the meeting in Moscow marking the centenary of the birth of Lenin, made by Agostinho Neto, Chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. After stressing that the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and proletarian unity and solidarity have cut across class as well as geographical boundaries, to merge with the world movement for freedom against the common enemy in the shape of the international monopolies and capitalists of every kind together with their agents, Neto said: "That is why our liberation movement does not separate its independence drive from the world-wide struggle for the emancipation of man . . . Our struggle is a contribution to the triumphant cause of the just ideas of Lenin, whose prime concern was man in all his entirety. These ideas are a lodestar for our people and all those fighting for their freedom."

One other important law of the world revolutionary process at the present stage is becoming increasingly clear. This is that revolutionary forces achieve real success in their struggle when they form a political party that acts as a vanguard guiding the struggle, and having a clear vision of the objective, and of ways and means of achieving it.

Under the leadership of a revolutionary party, the working class of Russia won victory in 1917 and built socialism in the Soviet Union in an alliance with all working people. Under the leadership of revolutionary workers' parties, socialist revolutions were victorious in a number of other countries which are now building socialism. The leading role of communist and workers' parties enables the working class of capitalist countries to press ahead with their difficult struggle against capital, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The absence of such parties, or their weakness, seriously complicates the struggle and sometimes leads to major setbacks for individual detachments of the liberation movement. It should be emphasized that we are not talking of just any party, but of a revolutionary party of the new type based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. We have in mind a party whose existence and work are based on the principles of Marxist-Leninist scientific theory.

We are speaking of a revolutionary party that is aiming at a socialist revolution, a party that combines devotion to the cause of revolution, boldness and resoluteness with reasonable caution, a party that does everything to avoid taking subjective and ill-founded decisions and actions. It is a party that acts as a politically conscious vanguard of the revolutionary class, that expresses the interests of all sections of the working people, a party equipped with a good knowledge of the laws of social development, a party that leads the masses and is closely linked with them, that is responsive to the changes of mood among the masses and shapes their revolutionary consciousness.

It is an internationalist organization which effectively supports the revolutionary struggle of the working people of other countries with all the means at its disposal, and which actively opposes any concessions to nationalism.

It is a united, efficient organization based on the principles of democratic centralism which combines complete democratism in its internal life with a unity of will and action; a collective approach to decision-making with a unity of action by all members of the party and personal responsibility for the implementation of the decisions taken.

It is a party which constantly masters the complex art of the creative application of general principles of scientific theory to the concrete conditions of a given country, a party capable of a critical assessment and profound analysis of the results of its activity, a party that successfully combines the struggle for the immediate needs of the working people with the struggle for the ultimate goals of the revolutionary movement. Such a party rejects the opportunist thesis of "movement is all, the ultimate objective – nothing." It also rejects dogmatic sectarianism which is characterized by a passive waiting for great events to happen while it is completely unable to muster and consolidate the forces necessary to bring them about. A truly revolutionary party maintains a constant principled struggle against bourgeois ideology, against opportunist and revisionist distortions of scientific theory, and against dogmatism which turns all theoretical propositions into eternal and immutable truths and which denies the need for creative development of theory.

The course of political events in the world over the past decades clearly shows that the existence of an active revolutionary party is a must, not only in order to ensure the victory of the socialist revolution in capitalist countries where there is a developed and struggling working class, and not only in order to initiate socialist construction. Such a party is equally necessary to organize a successful liberation struggle and the carrying out of radical revolutionary changes oriented towards socialism in countries with a poorly developed socio-economic structure. This conclusion is prompted by an analysis of the actual experience accumulated by those countries that have made the transition from feudalism to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage, under the leadership of an advanced revolutionary party (for example, the Mongolian People's Republic). It is also prompted by an analysis of the opposite kind of experience–the experience of those countries where progressive development along the non-capitalist path has been sabotaged by the forces of reaction and imperialism (Ghana and Mali). One of the causes of the defeat of the progressive forces in these countries lies in the weakness of the revolutionary parties there and serious shortcomings in their social and organizational structure and political activity.

As early as 1920 Lenin said: "Not only should we create independent contingents of fighters and party organizations in the colonies and the backward countries, . . . in these countries the elements of future proletarian parties, which will be communist not only in name, are brought together and trained to understand their special tasks."

The half-century that has elapsed since then has seen the formation in a number of economically backward countries of a proletariat, while in others it is in the process of formation. In all these countries the revolutionary activity of certain non-proletarian sections of the population has become more intensified. The world proletariat, whose ideology has spread throughout the various sections of the working people all over the world, has gained in strength and maturity. And the world socialist system, the child of the world proletariat, is developing apace and growing stronger.

All this creates favourable conditions for strengthening revolutionary parties on a sound scientific basis, and for creating such parties where they are absent.

The mastery and creative application of scientific theory are extremely important for the achievement of further success by all the revolutionary forces in their struggle against imperialism – their struggle for the liberation of nations, for socialism and the building of a new society. A mastery of scientific theory discloses the laws of social development and class struggle and furnishes a scientific method for use in approaching social phenomena. This theory has been created by Marx and Engels. Later it was further developed by Lenin to make it suitable for the new historical conditions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, an era marked by the collapse of colonialism and the victorious march of national-liberation movements, and highlighted by the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism and to the building of communist society.

Today the world communist movement by collective effort advances Marxist-Leninist theory and defends it against distortions. An important contribution to the further elaboration of this theory has been made over the past 15 years by the successive meetings of communist and workers' parties held in 1957, 1960 and 1969.

Marxism-Leninism as a scientific theory comprises three closely integrated components – dialectical materialist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. The doctrine of the laws governing the revolutionary transformation of the world occupies a central place in Marxism-Leninism. The way of different countries to socialism is marked by such indispensable features common to all as a socialist revolution including the destruction of the state machinery of the exploiters; the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another (the proletariat having formed an alliance with other sections of the working people); elimination of the exploiter classes; socialization of the means of production and the establishment of socialist productive relations in both town and countryside; and the introduction of the working people to the treasures of world culture.

The socialist system proper is marked by the following basic features: power in the hands of the working people with the working class in the vanguard role and a Marxist-Leninist party leading social development; public ownership of the means of production, and, on this basis, planned development of the national economy in the interests of the whole people, the implementation of the principle "from each according to his abili-

ties, to each according to his work"; the education of the whole of the people on the basis of the ideas of scientific communism in a spirit of friendship with the peoples of fraternal socialist countries and the working people of the whole world; and a foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

Marxism-Leninism emphasizes that the struggle for the victory of the revolution, if it is to be a success, must: objectively consider the class forces of a given country and the balance of forces on the international scene; combine the struggle for immediate and medium-term objectives with the struggle for ultimate goals; identify the main enemy and the direction of the chief effort at any given moment; master all forms of struggle and all aspects of social activity and be ready to vary the methods of struggle; be able at any given moment to tackle the main link in the chain of revolutionary tasks which makes it possible to keep the over-all situation under control and set the stage for the carrying out of the rest of the tasks; be able to pick the right moment for launching a decisive offensive by all the revolutionary forces.

Acceptance of the general laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism does not mean, of course, that this theory should be regarded as a kind of gospel, as a collection of eternal and immutable dogmas which remain intact under all circumstances and at all times. On the contrary, the basic principles of scientific theory must be applied in a creative fashion, they must be adapted to the specific conditions of each country in a given period, and must be translated into life following a close analysis of the special national features of

that country. These principles develop and become more refined with the development of the historical situation.

This applies to all countries, especially to those which are backward socially and economically. In 1919, addressing himself to representatives of communist organizations of the peoples of the East, Lenin said: "...You are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants..." Lenin stressed that the task was to "translate the true communist doctrine... into the language of every people."

Today, despite the changes that have taken place over the past 50 years in the socio-economic structure of former colonies, the revolutionary parties face the task of further elaborating some of the questions of strategy and tactics of the revolutionary forces in the light of the specific conditions existing in these countries. This, however, does not alter the fact that the basic ideas and principles of Marxist-Leninist theory have a world-wide historical importance and relevance.

Speaking at a meeting in Havana in 1970, to mark the centenary of the birth of Lenin, Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, whose world outlook passed through a long evolution to become communist, said: "We call people who disagree with the existing state of the society they live in, who disagree with injustice, 'revolutionaries.' These people work to

change the situation,. . . they have the instinct and talent of fighters. . . , they have the steeling of revolutionaries and act accordingly. For all this, however, those of them who are unfamiliar with Marxism-Leninism are bound to encounter colossal difficulties and will be deprived of an important advantage, for it can be safely said that there is only one revolutionary science, only one political science – and that is Marxism-Leninism."

Similar conclusions have been drawn by prominent revolutionary and democratic leaders in countries of the "third world." For example, in a speech made at a meeting in 1970 to mark the centenary of the birth of Lenin, A. Fungi, a member of the Central Committee of the Congolese Workers' Party, said: "The Leninist teaching is all-powerful. . . Admitting that socialism is consolidated in a given country in full conformity with national conditions, we hold that the scientific theory of socialism is universal and applicable to all countries. . . Relying on this advanced revolutionary theory, the Congolese people carried through a national democratic revolution in 1963, and recently set up a progressive party which has become the weapon of the working class. The party has armed itself with Marxist-Leninist theory and applies it while carrying out urgent revolutionary reorganizations and building a new society free from exploitation of man by man."

There is no doubt that more and more political forces will acknowledge the world-wide historical importance of Marxism-Leninism and use it in their struggle. Those parties already adhering to Marxist-Leninist positions will go on applying the potent weapon of class struggle in a creative

spirit, will continue to sharpen its blade and use it skilfully taking account of the specific historical situation in which they operate. No doubt, this will bring new victories to each of the three great revolutionary forces of our time and will help to expand and deepen the world revolutionary process as a whole.

THE GENERAL LAWS AND SPECIFIC NATIONAL FEATURES OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

1. THE WAY TO PROGRESS LIES THROUGH SOCIALISM ALONE

Scientific socialism has uncovered the laws of social development that determine how one socio-economic formation is replaced by another, and shows the inevitability of the end of capitalism and establishment of socialist society. The replacement of one formation by another does not come about spontaneously. One formation does not automatically make way for another. It does so as a result of a bitter class struggle in which the classes that are in decline, disappear, in spite of putting up a desperate resistance, while the classes which are linked with the future productive forces and which, for this reason, are ascendant, come to power. The working class, under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party equipped with a good knowledge of the laws of social development – scientific socialism – is the gravedigger of capitalism.

Capitalism is an outworn formation. This is demonstrated by the fact that, despite the high level of its productive forces, imperialism is today the main obstacle in the way of mankind's progressive development.

More specifically, this is shown by the fact that, in the capitalist countries themselves, the productive forces develop in a lop-sided and abnormal fashion. The technological progress in these countries leads to greater exploitation of the working people, the militarization of the economy, war danger, pressure from the monopolies on the democratic gains of the working people and the emergence of the fascist menace. In spite of the fact that the scientific and technological revolution offers enormous opportunities for meeting human needs, in the advanced capitalist countries there are still economically backward areas where millions of people are dispossessed and destitute. Capitalism has failed to solve a single basic social problem. It has proved unable to solve problems in the health service, in social security, in education, and in housing. It has also failed dismally to deal with unemployment even though the wealth of the "haves" has been increasing all the time. Socialism can solve the key social problems of the advanced capitalist countries, and can solve them quickly, since the advanced economy of these countries is a ready-made material basis of socialism.

Modern capitalism hinders the onward advance of the developing countries by pursuing a policy of colonial plunder. The national-liberation movement, out to win independence for the colonial and dependent countries, is objectively directed against imperialism in the first place. Speaking

at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said that "imperialism is being subjected to ever greater pressure by the forces which have sprung from the national-liberation struggle, above all by the young independent and anti-imperialist-minded states of Asia and Africa." This is not only because imperialism once turned these countries into colonies, but also because today, when the majority of the former colonies have gained political independence, they cannot hope to overcome their economic backwardness if they follow the road of capitalist development. If the current rates of industrial growth in these countries are maintained (4 per cent a year) they will take 80-100 years to reach the level of a fairly developed country. That is why the peoples of the newly independent countries are looking for new ways of future development, and are turning to ways associated with a struggle against international imperialism and against their own bourgeoisie. The struggle for national independence must always be geared to the interests of class struggle, because national oppression cannot be eliminated without eliminating social oppression as well – herein lies the essence of the scientific, Marxist approach to the national question. At the same time, countries which have not reached the capitalist stage in their development, can, if helped by socialist countries, go over to the building of socialism, by-passing capitalism. The experience of the multinational Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic has proved this. The peoples of some African countries which have taken the non-capitalist road of development are trying

to solve problems of their further development in a similar way.

Imperialism falls over backwards in its attempts to hamper the successful progress of the socialist countries by following an aggressive policy, thereby forcing them to increase defence spending to counter imperialist pressure.

In all parts of the world, and in all areas of human endeavour which shape mankind's progressive development, we encounter the reactionary opposition of imperialism and in consequence have to fight it. That is why socialist ideas have won such great popularity throughout the world. It is also the reason why the working people everywhere who are fighting for peace, democracy and national independence, join forces under socialist slogans. This, of course, does not mean that these people see socialism as the immediate alternative, or that the majority of these countries stand on the threshold of socialist revolution. What is important here is that sufficiently broad forces are looking forward to a socialist future and showing great interest in socialist ideas and practice. In so doing, they reject capitalism and oppose it. Seeing the influence of the socialist countries and their ideas on large sections of the people, the leaders of many different movements, notably petty-bourgeois movements, have begun to put forward socialist slogans. As often as not the ideas of these leaders have little in common with scientific socialism, but nevertheless they have a certain progressive anti-imperialist content. The key problems facing the peoples can be solved only on the basis of scientific socialism. But the way to socialism, and the way to socialist revolution itself, does not follow a set

course, but often (especially in developing countries) passes through several different stages such as anti-feudal, national-liberation, anti-imperialist struggles, and a national-democratic revolution. One thing is certain, however: in spite of the diversity of actual solutions of socio-political problems, the successful development of each nation can come only through a victorious socialist revolution.

2. EACH COUNTRY HAS ITS SPECIFIC FEATURES

Each revolution is primarily the product of the internal development of a given country, the result of the development of objective class contradictions there, and the product of the determination and readiness of the masses for revolutionary change. A revolution cannot be imported from another country. Nobody but the working people of a given country can carry out a revolution there. A revolution cannot be carried out by just a group of people, however bold they might be. A revolution must be supported by most of the people if it is to become victorious. That is why a revolution has a distinct national character.

Each revolution has its own features depending on what forces carry out the revolution, how quickly revolutionary changes are effected, and what methods and forms are used. As long as there are wide differences between nations and countries, between their national and political structures – and these differences will last for quite some time – the tactics of preparing for and carrying out a revolution must take national differences into account. Experience has shown

that neglect of special national features leads to serious setbacks in the struggle against reaction and imperialism. By contrast, when the workers and democratic movements take full account of national features and traditions, they are outstandingly successful.

Marxists, true democrats, have always been the most consistent spokesmen for national interests. Equipped with the theory of scientific socialism they are able to objectively express the interests of a nation and identify the right ways of national development. They understand that the problems facing a country have a specific nature consonant with the national conditions that have arisen in the course of that country's history, and they are fully aware that an effective solution of these problems is dependent upon due recognition of this fact.

As early as 1919, when addressing representatives of the peoples of the East, Lenin stressed that they would have to apply the general theory and practice of communism to the specific conditions prevailing in their countries – conditions that did not exist in other countries – where the bulk of the population were peasants. They would have to take these specific conditions into account when struggling against the remnants of feudalism. There was no need to copy blindly the experience and tactics employed in other countries. It was necessary to consider independently the specific conditions of each country and develop tactics accordingly. It was necessary to apply not the letter but the spirit, meaning and lessons stemming from the priceless and highly instructive experience accumulated by other countries – international experience.

Scientific socialism has nothing to do with dogmatism and fossilification; its main propositions must be applied in a creative fashion in accordance with the national conditions and the existing correlation of class forces. Lenin explored and identified the specific national conditions in Russia on the basis of enormous factual material, and pointed out the special national features of capitalist development in Russia and the position of her working class. Lenin had an excellent knowledge of the agrarian relations in Russia and was able to develop an agrarian programme that was supported by the vast majority of the Russian peasants. He had an intimate knowledge of the situation in Russia's outlying areas, and the national programme of the Russian Marxists united all national minorities of Russia with the Russian working class in the common struggle against autocracy and the bourgeoisie. The October Revolution was an outstanding example of the blend between the struggle of the working class in Russia and the national-liberation movement. Without taking into account the specific features of each section of society it is impossible to organize a broad front of struggle. It is no easy matter to identify the special historical, economic, and national features, but, easy or not, it is of paramount importance to do so. These specific features must be carefully studied and most thoroughly explored.

Due regard for special national features is highly important for preserving and developing the best national traditions of a progressive and revolutionary nature. Marxists, apart from preserving the revolutionary and democratic traditions of their peoples, and the achievements of national

culture, also strive to further develop these traditions and use them for educating the masses. Neglect of national traditions and sentiments leads to serious mistakes and hampers efforts aimed at winning influence over the masses.

Marxists consider it of great importance to make use of traditional and primarily democratic institutions which have popular support in the liberation struggle. However, in so doing they seek to modify the work of these institutions in such a way as to adapt them for the purposes of the national-liberation struggle.

At the same time it is necessary to oppose those traditions which hold back the unification of working people against their exploiters. The revolutionary forces in many African countries are doing a good deal to overcome tribalism, that reactionary legacy which divides the people.

Underestimation of special national features, ignoring these features in developing strategy and tactics, and a dogmatic application of general propositions, inevitably leads to revolutionary forces being divorced from reality and leads to setbacks and defeats.

It is even more dangerous to overestimate the special national features, to attach undue importance to them, and to consider that all activity should be geared to them. Neglect of common uniformities, and a rejection of them lead to the rejection of socialism itself. Abandonment of universal principles does serious damage to the cause of socialism, leading to narrow nationalism and seclusion.

It is necessary to take special national features into account, but not to the extent that they take precedence over the general laws.

3. GENERAL LAWS OBLIGATORY FOR ALL

Speaking of the international significance of the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin pointed out that the revolution had done more than provide an impetus to the development of revolutionary movements all over the world. Lenin also drew attention to the significance of the Russian revolution in that some of its basic features, those that represented the general laws, had international significance apart from purely national, and that these general laws were obligatory for each socialist revolution irrespective of the specific national circumstance surrounding the revolution. Lenin stressed the international significance and historical inevitability of the repetition on a global scale of the Russian revolution. Lenin held that the basic features of the Russian revolution had a distinct international relevance. If the general laws of such revolution are not in evidence, if the party that leads the masses into revolution tries to ignore these general laws, the revolution ceases to be socialist in character.

In speaking of the general laws of socialist revolution we do not separate this revolution from the tasks of socialist construction. This means that we speak of the general basic laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

These general laws include the leading role of the working class in relation to the working people; a Marxist-Leninist party as the nucleus of the working class; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another; the alliance of the working class with the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; the elimination of capitalist owner-

ship and its replacement by public ownership of the basic means of production; a gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture; a planned development of the national economy directed at the construction of socialism and raising the living standards of the working people; a socialist revolution in ideology and culture and the creation of a large intelligentsia loyal to the working class and the cause of socialism; the elimination of national oppression and establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between peoples; defence of socialist gains in the event of encroachments by internal and external enemies; and, finally, solidarity of the working class of a given country with the working class of other countries – proletarian internationalism.

Let us take a close look at some of these general laws.

a) The Working Class Establishes a Dictatorship under the Leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party

In many countries diverse sections of the population are exploited by the ruling classes of their countries and by international imperialism. These people wage a struggle against this double exploitation. But only the working class is able to carry this struggle against socialism and national oppression to its logical conclusion. This is explained by the position the working class occupies in society. Marxism defined the historical mission of the working class as the only best organized class capable of leading the struggle of all working people for the elimination of the power of the exploiters and building a new social-

ist society. The working class is the most revolutionary and best organized class in society. It has no private property which could give it pause in the struggle and make it hope that this property could be preserved or increased. The working class therefore has nothing to lose in struggle but its chains. The working class becomes organized in the process of production. As production develops, the numbers of the working class grow and become concentrated at major enterprises. The working class is directly opposed to the bourgeoisie, sees it as the chief exploiter, and is more aware of the need to end bourgeois power. Being united in large groups at enterprises, the workers are alive to their collective strength, show their solidarity with their counterparts elsewhere, and set up their organizations. All this gives them confidence in struggle.

But on its own, spontaneously, the working class cannot understand the laws of social development and is unclear on how to prepare for and make a revolution. It needs a leader. This leader is a Marxist-Leninist party which is composed of well-educated people dedicated to the cause of revolution, who side with the working class, devoting their whole lives to the struggle against the exploiters. A party equipped with the theory of scientific socialism shows how to organize the struggle, how to pool the efforts of the exploited, leads the people to a victorious revolution and organizes the defence of that revolution. The party analyzes economic, social and cultural problems that arise and supplies the answers. The party implements its policy, not by virtue of its power, but by its authority and energetic work. The party has great experience becau-

se it consists of the best representatives of all progressive sections of society. The party develops programmes of democratic and national revival which are accepted by all its allies in struggle. The party always addresses itself to the masses convincing them of the rightness of its policy. When it comes to power the party assumes the responsibility for running the affairs of state, the economy and cultural processes. It shows concern for the steady bettering of the conditions of life and work for the working people – the people who made the revolution to achieve precisely that. At the same time the leaders of the party invested with great trust and shouldering responsibility for the future of the people must on no account depart from the scientific principles of leadership. The experience of some countries shows that if the leaders depart from these principles, if they take a subjective approach and set tasks the implementation of which is at odds with the economic and political situation, if they ignore the national characteristics and favour administrative pressure, violate democracy and legality – all this does harm to the economic and political development of the country and compromises socialism. Sometimes such a departure is prompted by a desire to overcome as quickly as possible the poor state of the economy, or is motivated by tense international situation, but, whatever the reason, this does irreparable harm. What is more, any such mistakes are skilfully seized upon by internal and external reaction and used against the country building socialism.

Under the leadership of a Marxist party the working class carries out a revolution and establishes its power, its dictatorship. Any class sys-

tem is the dictatorship of the ruling class. The bourgeois state, however democratic (to the extent that this is possible in a bourgeois state), is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the exploiting few over the exploited many. Working class power, in whatever form, is in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship of the majority over the deposed minority. Lenin considered the doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship the heart of Marxism. The elimination of social and national oppression as a result of socialist revolution creates a real democracy for the working people, a democracy that helps to organize a society in the interests of all its members and where it is impossible to do without the democratic organization of all the working people, without their active participation in managing the affairs of state. In this sense proletarian dictatorship is the highest form of democracy, democracy for the whole working people. Socialist democracy is characterized by involving broad masses of the people in running of society, it turns the people into the true master of the country, stimulates the active participation of the masses and creates conditions for the development of the abilities and talents of the individual. Socialist democracy is called upon to solve such key social problems as the elimination of unemployment, the provision of education and job qualifications, the establishment of sound systems of health service and social security, the establishment of equality among citizens of different races and nationalities, the emancipation of women, etc. Bourgeois propagandists try to prove that proletarian dictatorship is rule by violence and that, allegedly, it does not secure democracy.

Proletarian dictatorship means coercion but not only coercion and not so much coercion since the main goal of such a dictatorship is the construction of a new, truly democratic society of working people. Further, this dictatorship exercises coercion only against the overthrown classes who seek by any means to restore their power – against those who hamper the building of the new society. Without exercising coercion against counter-revolutionary forces socialism cannot win. For the vast majority of the population the dictatorship of the proletariat is the defender and spokesman of their interests. Political liberties, free speech, a free press and freedom of assembly are all prerequisites of the building of socialism. Naturally, these liberties do not include the freedom of anti-socialist propaganda and the freedom to organize counter-revolutionary forces. The organization and management in a socialist society are based on the principle of democratic centralism which combines centralized leadership with local initiatives. At the same time parochialism and bureaucratic centralism are inadmissible. Proletarian dictatorship is a means of building socialism. Upon completing its task, a socialist state develops into a state of the whole people which carries on the work of proletarian dictatorship and organizes the people for carrying out the tasks involved in building communism.

b) The Alliance of the Working Class with Other Sections of the Working People

The working class, though it is the decisive force in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, cannot win single-handed. To overthrow the bour-

geoisie and initiate socialist construction the working class seeks to enter into alliance with all possible allies. The working class has allies among other sections of the working people who are also exploited. The principal and natural ally of the working class are the broad masses of working peasants. This is especially so in those countries where peasants constitute the bulk of the population. In countries dominated by feudalism, the peasants are exploited by the landowners. When capitalist relations develop in such countries the peasants find themselves under the double yoke of capitalists and landowners. Imperialism as it penetrates underdeveloped countries icreases the exploitation of the peasants (primarily through price control, credits and the imposition of a one-crop agriculture). Without the help of the working class the peasants cannot free themselves from the exploitation of the landowners, well-to-do peasants and capitalists. The success of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia was explained by the fact that the majority of the peasantry supported the working class, realizing that only a socialist revolution could solve the land question in their favour. But involving the peasantry in the struggle on the side of the working class is no easy matter. All peasants, including well-to-do ones, are interested in a democratic takeover (bourgeois-democratic, national-democratic revolutions). Although the peasant question receives a radical solution only within the context of a socialist revolution, only the working part of the peasantry and agricultural proletariat side with the working class. Middle peasants can show hesitation in their attitude to the socialist revolution. Experience shows how-

ever, that middle peasants, too, align themselves with the proletariat to the end when they see that the working class is an organized and sufficiently powerful defender of their interests. Well-to-do peasants by contrast are an enemy of the socialist revolution and for this reason a struggle must be waged against them if they prove an obstacle to socialist reforms.

Apart from the peasantry, middle sections of society in urban areas such as craftsmen, small traders, and office employees are also exploited and are becoming allies of the working class since the working class defends the interests of all working people. Today the younger generation, whose problems cannot be solved by bourgeois society, is also becoming an ally of the working class. Large numbers of the working intelligentsia too are exploited and so these people oppose capitalist practices.

In other words, those sections of society which are exploited together with the working class, and whose problems can be solved only by a socialist revolution, find themselves in alliance with the working class.

A Marxist party sees as its main task the unification of all anti-feudal, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces. To bring this about, the party relies on the organizations of working people and calls upon them to develop a joint programme of action and to specify concrete demands that are in tune with the conditions and needs of each section of society. In this common struggle the trade unions as well as the Marxist party must play an important role in organizational work. During such a joint struggle against the exploiters, a political army of socialist revolution comes into

being, an army without which the revolution cannot hope to win.

c) Liquidation of Private Property to Establish Public Property of the Basic Means of Production

Policy is dictated by those who own the means of production. Private ownership of the means of production enables capitalists and landowners to exploit the working people and amass great wealth. Private ownership dictates to the state a policy which is in the interests of the private owners, a policy which secures maximum profits for them. A society can proclaim as its goal concern for the betterment of the living conditions of the whole people only when it is based on principles other than those of private ownership. Only a society and state based on public ownership of the means of production can look after the interests of the working people.

The essence of socialism lies precisely in converting the means of production into public property, in replacing the capitalist economic system with a system that caters for the interests of the whole of society. For this reason the working class, on coming to power, faces a critical task of transferring private property into public hands, of establishing public ownership of the basic means of production.

But this task cannot be solved overnight and Marxists approach the solution of this problem on the basis of an analysis of the specific conditions existing in the given country.

Private ownership of the means of production cannot be abolished overnight because the working class, on coming to power, cannot simply

convert private property into public without first learning how to manage public property, and how to run nationalized industry. If the working class is unable to do this when it comes to power it must learn to do so immediately. That is why the working class needs time and also training in the art of management.

When the working class comes to power without skills of industrial management, it is not in a hurry to nationalize private property but takes measures to keep industry running in the same way as previously, learns how to manage it and only then nationalizes it. There are transition measures to be taken prior to converting private property into public. Let us consider these measures in more detail.

They include methods of state capitalism whereby large and small-scale private owners are brought under the control of the socialist state. This is the first basic step obligatory for any socialist, worker's government. Workers' control is stocktaking and surveillance over the capitalist owners of property. This control, in conditions of proletarian dictatorship, can become an all-embracing, accurate and painstaking supervision of production and distribution of the products. Workers' control, if organized on a mass basis, can succeed in overcoming bourgeois sabotage. The first cadres of organizers of socialist production get initial training in worker's control bodies. The workers learn how to run enterprises using technical experts, consultants and advisers who previously served the capitalist owners.

Socialist emulation organized and conducted by the party and other mass organizations plays an important part in preparations for nationalization.

In the course of socialist emulation a new type of labour discipline is developed, improved methods of organizing labour are evolved and ways of raising efficiency are found. Measures of transition include the setting up of mixed industrial undertakings with the participation of private capital and the state.

These measures do not mean abolition of capitalist ownership. They are used by the state to regulate the operation of capitalist enterprises and trade. They show that the working class, when in power, favours peaceful ways of converting private ownership into public ownership. After implementing transition measures, it is possible to proceed to the nationalization of individual enterprises and industries and then, as the working class gains experience in management, to nationalize the whole of industry. State monopoly of foreign trade is an important means of shielding the economy from foreign interference and of assuring internal economic independence. The establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade is one of the first steps to be taken after a victorious revolution.

As for petty private owners, the new power is in no hurry to bring their property under public control. When they are placed under the control of the socialist state, petty owners present no danger to the new order. However, dangerous or not, the existence of private ownership slows down the development of the productive forces and because of this it is necessary to gradually encourage these owners to adopt co-operative methods. The working class can change the psychology of petty owners and reform them only through a gradual and cautious organization of work. Socialist coun-

tries have gained positive experience in organizing production co-operatives for craftsmen and petty owners. In the German Democratic Republic, for instance, links have been established between state-owned trading organizations and private small traders by means of commission arrangements under contract. The owners of small concerns in the GDR have found their place within socialist society following their transition to participation in the process of integrating their small enterprises into the planned socialist economy of the republic.

d) Gradual Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture

The bulk of the peasantry are small commodity producers who find it difficult to make both ends meet, let alone being able to supply the state with the necessary products in sufficient quantities. Socialist society differs from any other type of society in that it secures the material well-being of all working people. Petty peasant holdings must be placed on a footing of large-scale socialist production to ensure that the peasants have a better life and that industry and urban dwellers receive the necessary raw materials and food. Apart from that, small peasant holdings, though non-capitalist in nature, rely on private ownership of the means of production and for this reason constantly engender capitalism in the person of well-to-do peasants. That means that in a country dominated by small peasant holdings capitalism has a stronger base than has socialism.

How are peasants to be put on the road to

socialism so that breeding ground of capitalism in the countryside is eliminated?

This should be done in a way that is most suitable and favourable for working peasants. One such way is through the co-operation of peasants. When the working class holds power and there is a durable alliance between workers and peasants and all basic means of production are in the hands of the state, an agricultural co-operative is a socialist enterprise. In such a co-operative the basic means of production are socialized and so the basis of exploitation is eliminated. At the same time a co-operative is a good vehicle for uniting peasants into larger production units where the personal interests of the peasant are in harmony with the needs of the rest of society.

However, the establishment of co-operation among small peasant holdings is the most difficult task to accomplish after the proletariat comes to power. This task can be carried out only with substantial help from the state (through extending the peasants material, cultural and political help) and with the active participation of the peasants themselves. Therefore the process of converting small peasant holdings into large-scale co-operative economies is a gradual one calling for caution and refraining from crude administrative measures to speed the process. The peasants should join the co-operatives of their own free will. To get them to do so the advantages of co-operative methods must be explained to them and demonstrated in realistic terms. The peasants should become convinced of these advantages.

The experience of socialist countries shows that co-operation of the peasants must start with the simplest form of co-operative farming. These in-

clude consumer, credit and agricultural co-operatives. A consumer co-operative sells peasants industrial goods at reduced prices, an agricultural co-operative helps them to jointly organize seed growing, land improvement and reclamation units, to jointly purchase farms machinery and sell their produce. A credit co-operative, by definition, makes loans available to the peasants. These simple forms of co-operation offer the peasants material advantages, demonstrate the advantages of joint methods of farming, foster a team spirit in running their affairs and in this way help the gradual process of uniting the peasants to form large-scale production co-operatives based on free will. A production co-operative is the highest form of co-operation in agriculture whereby the peasants jointly conduct all operations ranging from land cultivation to the distribution and marketing of produce.

The co-operation of peasant economies makes for greater efficiency in farming, and productivity goes up as a result. Large-scale collective agricultural enterprises are set up based on the use of the up-to-date machinery. Even the simple act of pooling agricultural implements raises productivity. Collective work using up-to-date machinery results in higher productivity still and improves the material and cultural conditions of the peasants.

Help from the working class and education of the peasantry play an important part in initiating and strengthening the co-operative movement in the countryside. Literacy and educational organizations set up by workers help the peasants to overcome their illiteracy, make it possible for them to learn to operate and maintain agricultu-

ral machinery. Apart from that these organizations explain to the peasants the policy of the new power and the challenges facing the builders of socialist society.

Any move towards co-operation of the peasants comes up against stiff opposition from the well-to-do peasants who try to scare the rest of the peasants away from co-operatives, actively obstruct the organization of co-operatives and sometimes go to the lengths of killing co-operative-owned cattle, wreck machinery and even murder the more active advocates of co-operative methods among the peasants. The fierce opposition of well-to-do peasants is explained by the fact that mass co-operation cuts the ground from under the feet of capitalist elements in the countryside and hence does away with exploitation.

e) Planned Development of the National Economy

Capitalist production is profit-motivated. Socialist production aims at meeting the growing social and personal needs of the whole of society. This is so because under socialism production belongs to the working people and there are no capitalists, landowners, traders and usurers between the producer and the fruits of his labour. Everything that is produced belongs to those who produce it, the working people.

To ensure a smooth and normal functioning of the socialist economy, certain ratios and balanced proportions between the individual branches of that economy are essential. The establishment and maintenance of these proportions is effected on

the basis of a well-thought-out analysis of the nature of the socialist state and its planning agencies. Such proportions cannot be established arbitrarily at anybody's caprice or wish but must be in line with certain laws which, if violated, upset production. All these laws must be studied and planning procedures must be effected accordingly. An ill-founded attempt to increase consumption without concern for a corresponding increase in production can lead to the available stocks of commodities becoming exhausted primaturely. Likewise, violation of the proportions between the size of wages and the level of productivity does only harm. Nor can one ignore with impunity the total income of the population unless it is backed up by a corresponding volume of commodity turnover. It is also necessary to maintain a rational balance between the volume of industrial production, agricultural production and transport operations, between heavy and light industry, and between the extractive and the manufacturing industries. The economy cannot run smoothly without the correct balance between the requirements of the economy for skilled personnel and the scope of their training. All these points must be taken fully into account by the planning agencies.

But you may well ask: are not all systems, including capitalism, in need of maintaining such proportions? Quite so. But under capitalism the necessary proportions are established spontaneously, following abnormal phenomena such as crises and slumps. The advantages offered by socialism lie in the fact that under socialism purposeful, scientifically based planning makes it possible to use all reserves and opportunities to ensu-

re rapid rates of growth in production, and on that basis rapid growth rates of consumption.

What is more, in a socialist society the working people themselves actively take part in planning procedures, and the experience they gain as a result of this activity is a guarantee of correct economic management. Economic development plans in socialist countries reflect what socialist enterprises and their workers can realistically accomplish. Planning on a sound scientific basis, and the active participation in planning procedures of the working people themselves, precludes any parochialism, that is to say, putting local interests first to the detriment of the common effort.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the advantages inherent in a socialist planned economy do not by themselves bring success. Planning can correctly or incorrectly reflect objective requirements depending on whether the underlying concepts are sound or not. That is why the Communist Party carefully analyzes and directs the work of planning agencies, shows concern for the steady improvement of the methods and systems of planning and constantly checks the validity of the resultant plans against the advanced practical experience gained.

f) The Socialist Revolution in Ideology and Culture

An important component of all socialist transformations in a country is a cultural revolution. A socialist society is the most advanced and progressive form of society precisely because it is based on the latest developments in science, tech-

nology and culture. Socialism is the product of the creativity of the working masses themselves and they can get on with the job of socialist building provided they have the achievements of science and culture available to them.

Before the October Socialist Revolution, many leaders of the Russian workers' movement who did not understand Marxism and who in effect stopped defending the interests of the working people, asserted that before taking power the working class must first achieve a certain level of culture within the framework of the old society. According to this "theory" Russia at the time allegedly was not ripe for the socialist revolution and the conclusion was drawn that the Russian working class should not seize power because it lacked the right sort of cultural level that would enable it to run the country. Lenin ridiculed all these "theorists" saying that if the cultural level of the population in different countries varied who can tell what that "definite cultural level" should be that enabled the working class to seize power. Was it not more sensible to seize power first, if there is a chance of doing so, and then, in conditions of the new power, to bring culture within the reach of the people. That is the whole idea behind the cultural revolution. This revolution represents a whole stage in the cultural development of a people The tasks of this revolution consist in bridging the gulf that separated the working people from culture, to ensure high-speed improvement in the educational and cultural level of the workers and peasants, to create every opportunity for developing the individual's talents and abilities, and to educate politically conscious champions dedicated to the vic-

tory of the new socialist system. To carry out these tasks successfully it is necessary to eliminate illiteracy among the adult population, to introduce compulsory universal education for the younger generation, to train an intelligentsia from among the people, to develop all branches of science, to train scientists from among the people, to educate the population in the spirit of socialist ideals, to foster a love of work and respect for socialist property, to cultivate internationalism and patriotism, to develop literature and art and place them at the service of the effort to educate the people in the spirit of communist ideals.

A basic prerequisite for carrying out a cultural revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the winning by the working class of political power, because a socialist state for the first time places education, science and art within the reach of the whole of the people and eliminates everything that formerly used to obstruct the cultural advance of the people and because it allocates huge funds for the purposes of cultural building.

A true cultural revolution has nothing to do with the "cultural revolution" of the present Chinese leadership who for all practical purposes destroy cultural values, persecute cultural workers and, in so doing, compromise socialism.

What were the first steps taken by the socialist countries in carrying out a cultural revolution?

To begin with, the policy of involving the loyal part of the intelligentsia of the old regime in the work of socialist building fully justified itself, and at the same time efforts were made to develop an intelligentsia from among the working classes. Particular importance was attached to at-

tracting cultural workers of the old regime to use them in the building of the new society. Thanks to the attention lavished upon such people, thanks to a solicitous concern to cultural matters the majority of the old intelligentsia soon went over to the side of the new power and began to serve the interests of the people. In this way they were able to contribute substantially to the cultural development of the people.

The elimination of illiteracy among the people is the first step in the cultural revolution. An illiterate person stands outside politics and cannot participate effectively in the building of a new society. The communist parties of the socialist countries regarded it as an all-important task to organize the whole of the working class and the intelligentsia, the whole people, in the drive to eliminate illiteracy.

In Soviet Russia, the communists mobilized millions of people in this effort. Anti-illiteracy workers were trained on a mass scale, and anti-illiteracy teams were set up everywhere. The Komsomol was most active in the effort. Anti-illiteracy schools were organized at every factory and plant, in every village and town, big and small. This effort was initiated in a situation dominated by universal hunger and wholesale industrial dislocation, when all forces were directed towards overcoming economic ruin. At that time all sorts of libraries were organized, including mobile libraries that toured population centres. Special newspapers and magazines were published for those who were semi-literate. And every effort was made to devise new forms of work and to involve in the anti-illiteracy drive everyone who could contribute to success in this work. In

all socialist countries education was intensively developed immediately after the victory of the revolution. To begin with, compulsory primary education was introduced that was free for all children. Subsequently in most socialist countries compulsory eight-year schooling (to the age of 15) was introduced. Today these countries are beginning to introduce compulsory ten-year schooling to the age of 17. There was similar emphasis on higher education. To enable the children of workers and peasants to enter colleges and universities special preparatory courses and workers' faculties were set up and maintenance grants were provided for those who attended them. Such courses, and sometimes institutions of higher learning, were set up at major industrial enterprises.

Today every fourth book that is printed in the world is published in the Soviet Union.

Literature and art were given every opportunity to develop unimpeded. Particular attention was paid to the cinema as the most mass and important vehicle for the education of the working people.

Socialist culture does not just suddenly occur. It inherits progressive and democratic traditions and embodies the ideals that have always been cherished by mankind. The Marxist party organizes the work in this sphere in such a way as to make the people themselves the heirs to spiritual values, and it fosters a high regard for everything that constitutes the pride of national culture.

Cultural processes should not develop spontaneously. Steps should be taken to guide their development under a sound leadership to ensure that the results obtained conform to the guiding

concepts. Literature and art must assist in the development of the new society. They must help in the work of educating the people, giving them confidence and a feeling of pride in the success scored in socialist construction. Cultural workers are the Party's helpers in creating the new society. Crude bureaucratic and administrative measures in the cultural sphere have been censured in the socialist countries. Particularly close attention must be paid to workers in literature and art.

Following the accomplishment of the cultural revolution in the socialist countries, millions of working people have elevated themselves to heights in science and culture that has enabled them to appreciate the priceless cultural heritage accumulated in the course of history. Today the peoples of the socialist countries are in a position to solve all the pressing scientific, technological and cultural problems they encounter, and, in contrast to the situation under capitalism, they solve these problems in the interests of the working people.

g) The Elimination of National Oppression

Socialism ends not only social oppression but also national oppression, and experience shows that socialism alone can solve the national question effectively.

The development of the productive forces, the deepening of the division of labour as these forces develop in different areas and in different countries, and the progress of communications and the information media cause nations to draw closer together.

Capitalism hampers the development of this

tendency and uses it for purposes of plundering other countries and peoples. Capitalism divides nations into oppressor nations and oppressed ones, incurring the hatred of the oppressed peoples for imperialism and stimulating the rise of national-liberation movements.

Only socialism holds out the prospect of bringing nations closer together and makes it possible for the peoples of all nations to pool their efforts in the struggle to build a new classless, multinational society. But because of the burdensome legacy of the past, because of the mistrust that oppressed nations have developed towards oppressor nations, the process of nations drawing together under socialism encounters considerable difficulties. That is why the ruling parties, in implementing their policies, must concentrate on overcoming the survivals of the divisions existing in relations among peoples, must seek to foster fraternal friendship between the nations. An alliance between nations can be effective only if it is based on complete equality and the free choice of those involved.

Such an alliance can be achieved by granting all nations equal rights, and by developing their statehood, language and traditional culture. However, the resolution of the national question calls for ensuring equality in fact, which consists in providing equal opportunities to each nation to exercise the rights that have been granted to it. The provision of formal, legal equality and equal rights is not enough. Equality in fact means that each nation has economic opportunities allowing it to exercise in practice the formal right to work, to have not only the right to education but also educational establishments where this right can

be exercised, not only the right to the development of its own language and culture but also schools and theatres where the activities are conducted in the mother tongue of that nation. To sum up, then, industry, education and culture should be developed in such a way that each nation has real, material conditions for progressive development.

The experience of Soviet Russia is highly instructive in this respect. Tsarist Russia had bequeathed a heavy legacy in relations between nations. The tsarist policy of national oppression held back the economic and cultural development of the peoples of Russia. Many non-Russian regions were dominated by patriarchal and feudal relations. The peoples of Central Asia as well as many peoples in Central Russia had no national schools, national papers and not even a written language of their own. The Soviet state, as it began socialist construction, solved the national question. All nations were made equal, they set up their own bodies of power and began to participate on an equal footing in running the affairs of state on a country-wide basis. National schools and cultural activities and all clerical work began to be conducted in the mother tongue. The central authorities took measures to initiate a stepped-up economic development in the national republics and regions and economic development in these regions showed higher rates of growth than in Central Russia. In the years of Soviet power numerous national personnel were trained for work in the economic and cultural fields. Some national republics, helped by the Russian working class, were able to achieve high rates of economic and cultural development, by-passing the ca-

pitalist stage. In the common struggle for the victory of socialism, the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union went from strength to strength. This friendship was tested in the crucible of the Great Patriotic War against Nazi Germany and was a factor in the victory of the Soviet people in the war. Today this friendship has helped to turn the Soviet Union into a mighty socialist world power, the bulwark and mainstay of all oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom.

h) Proletarian Internationalism

A revolution is victorious when the internal conditions in a given country are ripe for that revolution. In order to hold power, the working class needs the support of the proletariat of other countries, needs international support. The moment the working class in a given country looks powerful enough to win, international imperialism sees it as a danger for the entire capitalist system and is determined by united efforts to nip the impending revolution in the bud or strangle it if it wins. Such imperialist attempts must be countered by the international solidarity of workers everywhere. If, for example, Cuba, after accomplishing its socialist revolution had been denied the support and defence of the socialist countries, the Cuban revolution would have been put down long ago. The existence of the socialist system and the support it extends, and the solidarity of the working class of capitalist countries make it impossible for the imperialists to strangle national-liberation struggles with impunity. That is why the working class of any country, in launching a revolution, rightly counts on the support

of the world proletariat, without which its victory cannot last.

Internationalism does more than guarantee support for revolution. Without this support it is impossible to carry out the tasks of socialist construction. The success of any country, big or small, and particularly small, in tackling purely national tasks depends on the support given to the proletariat of that country by the workers of other countries. This holds true for economic, cultural, political and diplomatic success alike. The carrying out of national tasks is possible provided there is support from the rest of the socialist community and close links with it, and provided full account is taken of the common interests, since the achievements of each socialist country must be regarded as a contribution to the achievements of the rest of the socialist world. Attempts to pit purely national interests against common interests lead to setbacks in solving national problems. If a socialist country takes a position which runs counter to the common interests of the revolutionary movement, this position is not national but nationalistic, which in the final count is anti-national. Such a position undermines the common cause and plays into the hands of imperialism. That is why a Marxist party wages a constant struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and educates the people of its country in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of joint struggle with the working people of all countries against imperialism. Speaking at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said, "Conscious of its internationalist duty, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will conti-

nue to pursue a line in international affairs which helps further to invigorate the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle, and to strengthen the fighting unity of all its participants."

i) The Defence of Socialist Gains Against Encroachments of External and Internal Enemies

As the exploiter classes are toppled their resistance increases immeasurably. The overthrown classes try to use everything they can lay hands on inside the country, plus their links with international reaction (which are extensive) to eject the proletariat from power. The October Revolution in Russia won in an almost bloodless takeover since the revolutionary onslaught of the working class was supported by all the working masses, the peasantry and the peoples of the national outlying areas of the former Russian Empire. But the working class had to fight a four-year-long Civil War to keep its power. Internal counter-revolution received arms aid and money from world imperialism. To back up its resistance world imperialism organized the armed intervention of fourteen countries against the world's first socialist state. The working people of Russia upheld the gains of their revolution in bitter struggle. But even subsequently internal and external counter-revolutionary forces continued to mount attacks on socialism, instigating rebellions, organizing sabotage, wrecking in industry and military conflicts. In the Second World War, world imperialism sought, through the agency of Nazi Germany, to destroy the gains of socialism in the Soviet Union. It cost the Soviet Union twenty million lives to win victory in the

war, as a result of which socialism was defended in the Soviet Union and in addition conditions were created for socialist revolutions to triumph in twelve countries.

But imperialism has not given up the hope of subverting socialism and has been doing its utmost to undermine socialist gains. Evidence of this is provided by the constant provocations against socialist Cuba. Events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia show that when it is impossible to undermine socialism by force of arms imperialism seeks to do so by boring from within, by supporting anti-socialist elements within a country.

Experience shows that the danger from internal and external counter-revolution is there all the time. That is why the new system must be ready at all times to defend itself from counter-revolutionary encroachments.

The defence of socialist gains requires primarily the organization of efficient armed forces equipped with up-to-date weaponry. Immediately after the revolution, the new system has to use the career officers of the old regime's army and also the services of bourgeois military experts and advisers, placing them under the effective control of the socialist state. At the same time the new power relies on the armed popular masses for purposes of protecting revolutionary gains. Later on, the socialist state forms a new regular army of its own, and trains new commanders. The new army must be composed of working people and must have durable links with them. This army must be based on iron discipline and a good organizational structure anchored in democratic institutions – "democratic" in the sense that the army is not a weapon in the hands of the working

class, but the working class itself. The army is active in the building of socialism. The Marxist party looks after the ideological education and shows constant concern for maintaining a high level of political consciousness among officers and men, who know what they should defend and from whom.

The defence of socialist gains is not only a matter of creating efficient and powerful armed forces but it also involves maintaining the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people; it is a matter of stimulating their will and readiness to defend the new socialist system to the end. That is why an important task facing a ruling communist party is the education of the masses in a spirit of hatred towards the enemies of socialism, exposure of the essence of the anti-popular policies of imperialism and the attempts of anti-socialist elements within the country to undermine the system, exposure of imperialist designs and the subversive nature of the activity of bourgeois intelligence services, and the education of the masses in the spirit of vigilance and boundless devotion to the cause of socialism.

* * *

The laws and uniformities of socialist construction that we have dealt with above, have been proved valid by the experience of those countries where the working class has won political power. In all these countries these laws and uniformities are strictly observed.

These laws and uniformities are implemented on the basis of a careful analysis of the national, specific features of each country which, however,

does nothing to upset the integrity of the underlying concepts. For instance, in the Soviet Union the new power has taken the form of Soviets of people's deputies, while in countries of Eastern and Southeast Europe the new system has assumed the form of people's democracy. The important thing is that both the Soviets and people's democracy regimes are different forms of the same thing – the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Soviet Union following the socialist revolution of 1917, the land was nationalized and was transferred to the peasants for their use, while in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe the land was distributed among the peasants and made their property. In the Soviet Union the well-to-do part of the peasantry was eliminated because it embarked on the road of open struggle against the Soviet power. In the GDR, by contrast, the well-to-do peasants adapted themselves to the new conditions and joined the co-operative movement in the countryside. The nationalization of large-scale private property in different socialist countries took different forms and varying lengths of time to complete. More examples like that could be cited. They all go to show that the basic laws and uniformities of socialist revolution hold true for all countries building socialism, regardless of the specifically national conditions in each. These, needless to say, should be taken into account, but they do not alter the basic underlying concepts.

4. TOWARDS SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Many countries, and primarily those where there are no relations of developed capitalism,

will not accomplish a socialist revolution overnight. Experience shows that the transition to socialist revolution is effected following the victory of the national-democratic revolution as a result of which non-exploiting classes come to power. In such countries elements of socialism are in evidence well before the new system becomes socialist in character. The national-democratic revolutions in the countries of Eastern and Southeast Europe (Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, etc.) passed through two stages in their development. The first stage was that of the national-liberation anti-fascist struggle, but because the front of the progressive anti-fascist forces was headed by the working class and its Marxist party, this circumstance ensured the gradual evolution of the revolution into a socialist one. The experience accumulated during these revolutions, the factors that led to their transformation into socialist revolutions are of considerable interest and international significance and relevance.

In the first stage of the revolution the effort was directed at dealing with tasks of a general democratic character such as the elimination of feudal survivals in the economy and political life, and the winning of democratic freedoms and national independence. These tasks were dealt with during the struggle against fascism and the bourgeoisie allied with it. In this fashion, as the working class and its allies dealt with problems of a general democratic character, efforts were made to combat the bourgeoisie as part of tackling socialist tasks. The power of the bourgeoisie and its influence was whittled away gradually by a series of reforms that began in the first stage of the popular democratic revolution. In due course

political steps were taken, including the exposure of that part of the bourgeoisie that had collaborated with fascism, something that made it possible to isolate the traditional bourgeois parties which had had influence with the masses. In turn the isolation of those parties made it possible to disband them at a later date and stigmatize them for betraying national interests. Later, all reactionary organizations were proscribed. At the same time the state apparatus was purged of representatives of reactionary parties and organizations.

The economic reforms that serve to undermine the power of the bourgeoisie were likewise carried out gradually. The first of these reforms was the institution of workers' control which initially took the form of state control of banking, commerce and prices, and later developed into a system of workers' control in industry. A flexible tax policy was also used to curb the power of the bourgeoisie.

The nationalization of the property of large private owners was completed in several stages. To begin with, the property of the fascist states and that part of the bourgeoisie closely linked with them was brought under public control. Then the property of big capitalists employing over 500 workers at a single enterprise was nationalized. At a much later stage the socialist state nationalized enterprises employing less than 500 workers each. The public sector in the economy established as early as the first stage of the revolution was instrumental in developing the revolution into a socialist one.

As time went on the leading role of the working class and the influence it exerted on the cour-

se of events in the country grew stronger. Trade unions became more active following the replacement of a part of their leaders with revolutionary-minded workers. Trade unions began to deal increasingly with problems relating to the organization of production. The consolidation of the working class proceeded through the agency of workers' control commissions which proved to be a good school for training managers for industry. The important point here is that in these countries the first efforts to solve this problem began to be made well before the people's democracy regime instituted a dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers began to be more widely represented on bodies of state power and institutions.

A gradual but determined land reform furnished the basis for a stronger alliance to be formed between the working class and the peasants who constituted the bulk of the population in those countries. The peasants were a loyal ally of the working class to the end. The bourgeois parties suffered a crushing defeat while those parties which spoke for the peasants' interests became allies of the Marxist parties and helped bring revolutionary changes to their logical conclusion. The alliance between the workers and peasants was the main condition of the revolution's successful march.

Another important element in the development of the revolution was the fact that the working class and its party from the very first stage of the revolution achieved democratization of the armed forces and stepped up political work among the officers and men which resulted in the influence of communists within the army growing day by day.

In all these revolutions the communists worked unflaggingly to win the minds and hearts of the masses and help them to develop the ability to assess independently the meaning of the revolutionary changes. All this prepared the ground for a broad-based national front, relying on which the communists brought the socialist revolution to a victorious conclusion and later scored success after success in building a socialist society in their countries.

It would be wrong to think that there is some common blueprint for reforms to be used in developing the revolution into a socialist one. Each country has her own peculiarities, her own alignment of class forces and a revolution if and when it occurs there has a distinct national character.

But for all that it is essential for those forces who find themselves at the head of revolutionary movements to remember that the revolutionary experience gained by other peoples and countries must at all times be kept in mind, to take full account of both their successes and failures in launching a revolution.

While taking into account the purely national characteristics they should base themselves upon common laws and uniformities, upon the revolutionary experience of the international working class.

НАЦИОНАЛЬНО-ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ
И МИРОВОЙ РЕВОЛЮЦИОННЫЙ ПРОЦЕСС

на английском языке

Цена 11 коп.

АПН